2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*Jgui ǁkan*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 320; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland and Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 322–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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533 the stick. The onspurring of the pursuing horse, the fatal thrust, and the death rattle of the dying animal are punctuated with gestures and inarticulate sounds; the successive monotones beaten on the chord to varying speeds only serve as accompaniment. Similarly the progress of a wagon is indicated, with such incidents as the in-spanning of the oxen and the falling out of a lame animal, while the habits of wild animals are imitated with special delight.

In all these performances the music itself is relatively unimportant, even though the bow is throughout being sounded with the stick. It is only in the reed dance songs that the notes are first arranged
534 into melodies. The reed pipes, *!ati*, are among the oldest known musical instruments of the Hottentots.[1] They are usually cut, as their name indicates, from reed; but where, as in barren tracts, no reed can be got, they are made from the hollow bark of acacia roots. They range in length from about six inches to a foot. Their barrels are like those of European flutes, but the holes on both sides meet one another and are larger than in the flute. One end of the pipe is closed with a grass cork, which is slid up and down by means of a thin bit of stick to vary the pitch of the instrument. These pipes are always used to accompany dances and songs.

533 Every large kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-!gun-aob*, who teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes. "Boys who
568 perform well," says Hahn, "are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called */kho-!kha, to touch the body*, which means, 'to praise a person in a song.'"[2] A full Hottentot orchestra has at least nine performers, each with a pipe or set of pipes tuned to a different note from those of the others. The music of each performer consists in a series of rhythmical blasts all on one note, which harmonize with those of others in the same rhythm. These notes provide the time for the dancers and singers, who lead the melody.[3]

533 Many of the songs accompanied by reed music are without words; the theme is indicated simply by actions, and the melody "trolled" aloud, i.e. sung without articulate words.[4] Others have a fixed verbal text. Hahn distinguishes two kinds of the latter, sacred and profane. "The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations and songs of praise in honour of Tsu//goab, Heitsieibib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs, and the performance with dancing is called */geib*, while the general profane songs are called *//nai-tsanati*, and to perform

[1] The fullest descriptions are given by Schultze, op. cit., 375–7; von François, op. cit., 228.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 29. [3] Schultze, op. cit., 376, 377. [4] Ibid., 377.

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [435] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.P.

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49) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

50) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, op. cit., 412.)

51) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203), was at least eight days.

52) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Analyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (op. cit., 32ff).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them " boys ") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being " whipped " with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called */khon!a !hautab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows.

(1) *ǂkoːǂkoːs*
(2) */namis*
(3) *geiǂaːs*
(4) *tsoana*

The meaning of the third of these names is " the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of " tonic," since from it the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

man had married a very young girl, and her friends sung:

The geiris (first wife) is dismissed, his only great thought is the ǀaris (second wife); or, as we should say, "Age does not prevent a man making a fool of himself."

Other songs again are of a very simple character: "Don't, please, kill my antelope, my darling antelope; my antelope is so poor; my antelope is an orphan,"—and are simply an instance of the thrift of poetical productiveness. Or they are of a comical nature, sympathizing with a patient who suffers from gripes:

Poor young ǁKharis got into a fright,
She is suffering from gripes,
And bites the ground like the hyena which ate poison
The people run to see the fun!
They all were very much frightened!
And still they say—oh, it is nothing!

This reminds one very much of the style of Heinrich Heine; and even more of the way of the Middle-High-German poet, Nithart. I saw this play, "The Gripes," performed, and honestly confess that I laughed until the tears came. Helmerding could here have found his match in caricaturing people.

Every larger kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-ǂgun-aob*, the leader. He teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes, and if a boy should remain out of class, he is sure to get the whip severely. Also the girls, if they are too lazy and do not pay attention enough, receive now and then the whip, but then generally on the kaross, merely to make a noise and to frighten them. The reed-music sounds exactly like the playing on a harmonium. It is very pleasant indeed to hear it at a distance. Boys who perform well, are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called ǀkho-ǀkha, *to touch the body*, which means, "to praise a person in a song."

Such was the culture of the Khoikhoi before they migrated from the grave of ǀGurikhoisib, and such was it